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cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*ɨñ'ɨ'ɨ*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatsigat'ɨdmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was *afraid* as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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The shaman is called in by a relative of the sick man.[1] He performs by night in the camp (never in a sweatlodge), singing over the patient, and sucking out the disease which he exhibits. The characteristic attitude while singing is with the clenched knuckles of the left hand held against the forehead, the right hand holding the gourd rattle, while the trunk is slowly twisted from side to side. Relatives and friends gather to shout as the shaman may enjoin them.[2] 755

Once about 1900 I [Sinyella] was sick with a white man's sickness, fever, and I nearly died. Rock Jones and another Havasupai shaman, A'mal (sick), sang for me but did not cure me. I nearly died. Then two white men came down the Walapai trail. I said, "Tell them to look at me." They had two kinds of medicine which they gave me: "Give it to him three times a day." I took this and got well quickly. [648]

A'mal used a gourd rattle and sang over me where I lay close to the fire; he sang thus four nights. He shut his eyes as he sang; then his spirit could see, yet he could see with them too. The first or second night he applied his mouth to my body so that his spirit could bring out the sickness in my body. The spirit went into me and looked all around; it made me shake hard then. It went back down his throat with a gulp. The spirit said, "This sickness is a white man's sickness: the white doctor made that sickness a long time ago. It is very bad; that is why I cannot get it. It is too small, I could not find anything tangible; it only makes you shake and cold and hot together." Another night the spirit said the same thing.

All my relatives were there, men and women, and many friends. None slept; they shouted, and told the shaman, "Be strong and see what you can do." He said to them, "Do not sleep; stay awake; shout and help me, and I will do the best I can." They called him their relative and he felt fortified thereby.

Rock Jones is not a doctor; he only knows about making rain. But sometimes sick people want him to sing for them; he does not suck. He can tell about thunder, lightning, wind, hail, snow and such things. [791]

Doctor Tommy treated Lina for aches, particularly for fever in the head. He sucked her forehead directly with his lips. His spirit drew out the trouble which he showed her; little white worms like threads, about a centimeter long. He also instructed her husband to cut her hair short; this cured her somewhat.

Jess, who has consumption, consulted Bob, who sang over him. He said that if Jess heard a little clicking noise in his chest, he would be worse, otherwise he would recover. Jess does not know what Bob sang about.

Little Jim's first patient was Melvin. He sucked the lad's eyes and other painful parts. [My informant did not know if he exhibited any object.] He ascribed the ailment to the fact that ten or more years ago the boy's father, Sinyella, went among the Navaho trying to learn their shaman's songs. But he erred in repeating the words: bad spirits made his eyes fail. They have been with him ever since, although he stopped singing these songs as soon as he sickened. Nevertheless his oldest son, Lanoman, and a younger, Melvin, were also afflicted.[3] This is always the case, that if a man makes errors in singing a dead shaman's songs, the latter becomes angry and sends his spirit to make the offender sick.

[1] He is not given turquoise as among the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 552.
[3] All three have aggravated cases of trachoma. [464]

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If the patient does not improve another shaman may be called on. In fact there may be more than one shaman working on him at one time. No professional jealousy is aroused by calling in a second, it is said. Their efforts alternate, one sings for two or three nights, then the other; they may even be present at the same time. A novice may ask instruction of an older shaman.

Little Jim sucked Jess' chest and neck. Although he made no incision, he spat out blood. He said that Jess was suffering from a spirit sent by the being who made everything, deer, rabbits, and mountain sheep. Later the same summer, Doctor Tommy announced the same opinion, for he too sent his spirit into Jess while the latter slept. After a week or so Jess would cough up less blood and the pain subsided; Tommy's spirit would then return to his master to inform him that the evil spirit was gone. Jess added that when hunting he killed many deer, two or three each time. He wasted the flesh, even several carcasses together. This offended the man who made the deer; he did not want Jess to kill so many, so he sent his spirit.

The attitude of the people at large is fairly well indicated by these examples. On the whole, they have an implicit belief in shamanistic practices, though the ability of a particular shaman may be doubted and even scouted. Personally, the shaman may not be held in very high esteem—they are half contemptuous of the dwarfed Walapai Doctor Tommy—yet they freely call on him. Now that Rock Jones, a weather shaman, is getting old and deaf, his powers are held in low esteem. They also secure the services of other Walapai, Navaho, and Yavapai, whose practices are similar to their own. [648]

Once about 1885 when Lenoman, my oldest son, was about seventeen years old, he was pretty sick. I [Sinyella] got a Walapai shaman to cure him, but he did not get well. The Walapai shaman said: "It is very difficult." Then I took him over to Cocunino Basin; other Havasupai went there too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman" and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy; "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars" and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights, and said the boy would not get well. Then I got a Havasupai shaman, Watahomidja's father. He said, "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness. That sickness is due to your [Sinyella's] dead maternal grandfather (a shaman), who sent his spirit to fetch Lenoman (i.e., make him die)." His spirit could see this. That shaman said, "I do not think I can cure him, it is too hard for me. I think my younger brother, who is a very good shaman, can do it. So go and tell him to come and cure him." So I sent a man by the most direct route to Moho Canyon on the Walapai Reservation to ask A'mal to come. The night he arrived he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to 755
eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made
him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to
gather pifion nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is
getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to
wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will
go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon
Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the
diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return."
When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt
glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they
gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent
him another to carry it. So the boy got well.

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and
wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them
perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right."
When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We
heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He
also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man,
with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy
of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, 756
for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves.
At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a
Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and
magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, par-
ticularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative
of a patient who died.

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly 791
they are called *gîôiyê'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of [787]
clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who
dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a
gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it;
then he would try to produce rain.

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether 791
he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to 789
make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he
made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles
throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant
stated that the singing did not take place in a sweathouse; yet, on
another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to
Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweathouse. At the
moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

sakáhútaŋa áśá
eagle eagle
inyáhátčŋe inyanyáhátá
my domestic animal my dog
iyáwaličŋe yuwaśá
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwí'nčŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavá, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwíhaláí'dáí'dá, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[1]The Mariceps have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" [Mohave informants, Bourke (a), 173].

[2]Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.

[3]These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *aipaliła*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthveni* van Denburgh), *hanyapáła*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *hatámáhi*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus ochrorhynchus* Cope).

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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special
758 provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
752 knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is
[755] squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[1] But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 29–32.]

[171] [2] The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans think it causes rabies (Bourke, (f), 136). This is commonly thought to be fallacious, but E. W. Nelson states (178) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*sahamł'dvidjá suvidlgá*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [155] ● [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvlgá*, race by two; *tanomdgovlgá*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 138° F. (outside 72° F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 100°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that, "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 140° [345] (cf), 484.

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tatpá'á*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [171] (Hrdlička, (a), 44).

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159 traditions and superstitions of his people. He had been healed,
625 dramatically, by the medicine man. Leslie Spier, in his "Havasupai Ethnography," relates the story as told to him by Sinyella, Lanoman's father.

159 "Once about 1883, when Lanoman, my oldest son, was about
755 seventeen years old, he was pretty sick." He then explained that he had appealed to a Walapai shaman who decided that the illness was too difficult for him to heal. Sinyella continued:

> Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there, too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman," and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy: "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars," and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights and said that the boy would not get well.

Next, Sinyella appealed to a shaman of his own tribe. His verdict was: "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness." The shaman proved his point by declaring that Sinyella's grandfather, now deceased, who had been a shaman, had sent his spirit to take Lanoman to the spirit world. However, he recommended his younger brother A'mal, also a shaman, for whom Sinyella sent a messenger. Sinyella related what followed:

> The night he arrived, he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed them to us in his hand. . . . He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf, he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white; it loked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs. He did this two nights. Then the boy

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said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. 159 755

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was forced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some ways Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task. 159 764

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauty, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet 768 159

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But only a week or two later, Manakadja came to see me on a far more serious mission. His son Jasper was desperately ill. 733

The boy had developed a high fever; his flushed face and burning skin told me how sick he was when I visited him at his father's wickiup. There were drugs of all kinds in my office, requisitioned by one of my predecessors, but we had no one to administer them. Regardless of what happened to any of us, Indian or white, I had no authority to summon a physician nor funds with which to pay for his service. Jasper's parents and I did all we could to relieve the boy's suffering, but he seemed hopelessly ill, and none of us could determine the cause. I sent him crackers, canned fruit, tea, any food he could eat, but our supply, freighted out from Seligman and packed down the trail, was limited and the food expensive.

Manakadja had reverted in his distress to the primitive. Linen dusters and derby hats had no place in his life now. He told me frankly that he wanted to employ a medicine man. It was not until months later that I learned what a medicine man did to the sick, so I offered no objection. Usually when an Indian hired a medicine man, he kept the matter secret from the teachers, even to the point of denying it. This was due to his desire to protect his tribal customs from interference by officials who neither understood nor sympathized with them. Because we were instructed to discourage such practices, we usually did just that. Manakadja's candor was refreshing. I could not help the boy, so I told the chief to do whatever he thought best. I really hoped that I might see the medicine man at work and discover by what procedure he healed the sick. [609]

We had three shamans—medicine men—in the tribe at that time, A'mal ("Sack"), Rock Jones and Bob. I knew all three, and thoroughly liked Bob. For years A'mal had been considered the most successful, his reputation firmly established by his spectacular healing of Lanoman, after other medicine men had failed. He was distrustful, I think, of white people who gave him no credit as a healer, and held himself aloof. Bob was a heavy-set 756

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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XVI

THE HAVASUPAIS' RELIGIOUS DANCES AND BELIEFS

771 THE Havasupais do not occupy a high place in the scale of religious life. They are very different from the Hopis and Navahoes. They have few ceremonies, few prayers, and few ideas connected with the world of spirits. If evil comes upon them they seek to propitiate the power that caused it. They dance and pray. But there is no system, no recurrence of elaborate ceremonials year after year. Indeed, the only regular dance that I have personally seen is that of the annual harvest, and that is occasionally omitted. The [755] Sick Dance, as its name implies, is for the purpose of healing the sick.

776 On the second night of my first visit to the Havasupais my companions and I were invited by Hotouta to [574] accompany him to one of these harvest thanksgiving dances. It was a wild and fantastic scene. Gathered together in a circular enclosure, the fence made of willow poles bound together with withes of the same tree, were between one hundred and two hundred Indians of both sexes in any and all manner of dress and undress. Three or four bonfires added to the weirdness by throwing peculiar lights and shadows upon the countenances of those present. At times there was a silence which became almost solemn in its intensity, and then

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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you quick. But you must promise to give me five dollars. Don't forget I must have five dollars." 756

In one case with which I was familiar, the medicine-man declared that the heart of one sick man had gone away to the topmost peak of one of the canyon walls. It would cost several dollars to charm it back, but he could do it. Yielding to the pleadings of the man without the heart, he began to exercise his charms and incantations, and the next day he came in and declared he had seen it return during the early morning hours, and his patient would recover. His prognostication was correct; the man was soon well and strong, and paid his six-dollar fee for having his heart returned to him, with due gratitude and thankfulness. [755]

Another man who had been on the trail of some runaway horses had become overheated and was attacked severely with cholera morbus. He was brought into the village nearly dead, his pains increased by a terrible soreness in his back, caused by severe vomitings. The medicine-man gave him a large dose of red pepper, and, after sucking the flesh of his stomach, bowels, and back, rubbed the body of the sick man with red pepper, and then began his incantations. Soon he declared that a Wallapai doctor who hated the Havasupais had left a long white rope on the trail over which the sick man passed, and that it was this charmed rope which had entered his body and caused the sickness. On the promise of a fee of several dollars, he expressed confidence that the rope could be successfully taken from the invalid, and that its removal would be followed by immediate recovery. After a little time had elapsed, the crafty charlatan produced a long white rope, which he said his skill had extracted. Needless 164 755 754 755

3:James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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759 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
164 been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-
[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil
[578] something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no
756 longer need expect any help from the medicine-man, whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

3 James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mī', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

3:Jama T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey o the underworld.

The lat night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about todie, the medicine-man summons the principal men andwomen of the camp to dance around him, in the hopeof driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

776 777 787 Spier (p. 288) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specialises in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

[439] "Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 282-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. [764]

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 [756] [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyowa, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyowa, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 781 775 756

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [769]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [781] [758]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the lefft hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

755 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
756 spirits out of the sick.

If a shoman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful shoman, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
527 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of Sept-
535 ember and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
[782 this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abun-
648 dance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The
[523 drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
[523 intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
535 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
[535 night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
[541 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
[541 horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hamus is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

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[755]
blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

512
By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and ● 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and sound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save per- 683 sonal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [197] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasǎwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matěkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chěkǔchěkǔ, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [82] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

753 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time
[75] brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[788] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 125 143 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem geewí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai if gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

756
[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[155] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 755 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
1755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
268). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
● 755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[782] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[777] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another 753 756 [164]

shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

751 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [382] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [771] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.